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Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations

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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for inviting me to testify today on a matter of increasing world interest, and what I believe to be literally historic significance. The matter before the Committee today deals directly with, and is of real significance to, the $21^{\rm st}$ century's most defining struggle: the emancipation and empowerment of women.

Precisely as their 19th century counterparts fought against African chattel slavery, so are brave advocates, world political leaders including President Bush and, most of all, survivors, now fighting against the savage enslavement of girls and women at the hands of what is euphemistically called the "commercial sex industry." As did the Simon Legree's of their time, today's traffickers, pimps and brothel owners prey upon weak, abused and powerless people and convert the enslavement of their victims into a massively profitable criminal enterprise. With the cooperation (and the often even-worse silence) of many government officials, today's traffickers seek to protect themselves with the same rationalizations, the same expenditures of great sums of money, the same physical and psychological threats and violence by which 19th Century slaveholders sought to maintain their regimes.

So much for the bad news.

The good news is that aroused coalitions in the United States and throughout the world have mobilized to end the epidemic scourge of trafficking, doing so with the same abolitionist spirit and resolve that made slave pens in Ghana and South Carolina museums of a shameful chapter of history rather than operational facilities. In the United States, thanks in no small measure to your leadership, Mr. Chairman, Congress enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act which

mandates the United States to confront governments both friendly and unfriendly when they are complicit in the perpetuation of trafficking. Thanks to the leadership of President Bush and his Trafficking in Persons Office headed by Ambassador John Miller, and thanks to the work of committed Congressional Democrats like Bobby Scott, Tom Lantos and Carolyn Maloney, great progress is now being made by the United States in the battle against domestic and international trafficking and slavery. And, as you would be the first to say, Mr. Chairman, the battle is being powerfully led from the grassroots by survivors and by religious, feminist and human rights activists in the United States and around the world -- leaders whose character is perfectly captured by the closing term used in letters sent to coalition members and public officials by the Salvation Army's Lisa Thompson:

"Abolition!"

Lisa's passion is equally shared by the Southern Baptist Convention's Barrett Duke and by Equality Now's Jessica Neuwirth, and by world leaders like Madrid's Vice Mayor Anna Botella and the Queen of Sweden. It is shared by the remarkable "heroes" honored in the annual TIP Reports and by such advocates as the friend and hero whose sits on this panel, the great Juliet Engel of Russia's Miramed Coalition. Finally and as noted, the effort is animated by the brave survivors of trafficking who find the courage not only to get out of bed each morning but to inspire the rest of us to ensure that other young women will not suffer the brutalization and savagery that they experienced.

Because of all this, we will not stop!

Because of all this we will not be denied!

Because of all this, we are now, and increasingly, winning the battle over the slavery issue of our time!

In waging this battle, we have not only taken on the traffickers, bribed police officers and indifferent public officials who make today's mass slavery of millions of girls and women possible. At least as importantly we now also wage intellectual and policy battles, as we must, against trafficking's apologists and appeasers. Those adversaries, some well-meaning, believe that the fight against traffickers can never be won

and can thus only be waged at the margins. They call for the legalization and regulation of the commercial sex industry, precisely as their 19th century counterparts sought to "reform" African chattel slavery by seeking improved health conditions on slave ships and by calling for episodic Christmas holiday breaks for field hands.

Such advocates were wrong then and, no less mistakenly and tragically, are wrong today. Neither the promulgation of ergonomic mattress standards nor the creation of mandates that oblige police to distinguish between abusive and "friendly" pimps will ever, repeat *EVER*, protect the millions of psychologically captured, terrified, physically abused victims of the commercial sex "industry."

Today's appeasers fail to understand that legalizing prostitution always *increases* illegal prostitution. They fail to understand that the emotional capture of victims by brutal and experienced traffickers makes it certain that the victims will almost never feel free to testify about the lives they are forced to endure. They fail to understand that "Pretty Woman" story is a lie, that the Academy Award electors who awarded this year's Oscar to the profoundly infamous song "It's Hard Out Here for a Pimp" provide cover and protection for the real world of slavery. For the record, I have attached the paper I prepared contrasting the words of the Oscar-winning song with the reality of trafficking in the United States. The attached paper defines both the challenges before our coalition and the reasons why we will drive a stake through the hearts of the pimps and massage parlor operators and brothel owners in the United States and why, sooner than many believe, Bombay brothels will become, like African chattel slave pens, relics of a tragic past.

All of this leads to the immediate subject of today's hearing, the announced plans for the importation by Germany's traffickers of at least 40,000 "sex workers" – an odious term that masks truth no less than Communist regimes do when they call themselves People's Republics – to "service" World Cup attendees. The hearing will also address parallel plans of German traffickers to construct "quickie shacks" and 24/7 brothels in the immediate neighborhoods of World Cup soccer venues.

Others will testify more fully on this subject, and my comments are intended to add context to their statements.

First is the sense in which I almost welcome the World Cup plans for the manner in which they so clearly lay bare the evils we and the world must put to an end. The proof of this pudding is the galvanic manner in which the World Cup plans have strengthened bonds between left and right, between Democrats and Republicans, between feminists and evangelicals and between American activists and political leaders and their counterparts around the rest of the world. The World Cup plans are so odious that, wonder of wonders, they have even made allies of France and the United States. Few statements better capture the spirit of our growing world-wide coalition, and its mounting opposition to Germany's odious World Cup plans, than those of Raymond Domenech, coach of the French World Cup soccer team:

It is truly scandalous. People are talking about women, importing them to satisfy the base instincts of people associated with football. It is humiliating enough for me that football is linked with alcohol and violence. But this is worse. It is slaves that will come and be put into houses. Human beings are being talked about like cattle, and football is linked with that.

Coach Domenech has been joined by equally strong reactions from Scandinavian legislators, European Union officials, and others of like mind throughout Europe. Within Germany, the World Cup plans have linked German police officials and German feminists, German church leaders and German secularists in an equally bonded assault on their country's trafficking "industry."

The coming World Cup plans offer a great challenge <u>and</u> <u>opportunity</u> for Chancellor Merkel. If she treats the traffickers' current plans as a mere public relations problem for Germany, and responds to today's mounting protests with cosmetic, whitewashing steps, she will have badly misgauged the mood and determination of our worldwide coalition, and will have lost a singular opportunity to define her chancellorship in ways that will greatly enhance her world leadership stature.

If, on the other hand, she sees events like today's hearings as invitations to capitalize on a leadership opportunity, I believe that

Chancellor Merkel will profit from doing so at least as much as the victims she will have helped save by such action.

I urge the Chancellor to consider taking five critical steps – and to do so quickly so that her action will be seen as bold leadership steps rather than an expedient compromise forced on her by others.

The steps are:

- 1. Work with European Union officials to limit, to the extent legally possible, the entry into Germany of the "sex workers" during the World Cup games.
- 2. Take steps to ensure, to the extent legally possible, that no unit of state or local government in Germany finances or subsidizes the construction of "sex industry" facilities designed for World Cup use.
- 3. Working with leaders like Juliet Engel, massively increase the availability of "hot lines" for complaining trafficking victims and massively increase police patrols, investigations and presence to monitor all existing "industry" venues.
- 4. <u>As a critical matter</u>, issue emergency regulations barring German commercial sex operators from expanding their hours of "business" or number of "employees" during the World Cup games beyond their April 1, 2006 levels of operation.
- 5. <u>As a critical matter</u>, appoint a blue ribbon commission of German leaders to study the effects and propriety of Germany's existing anti-trafficking and prostitution laws, charging the commission with reporting back to her with such recommendations to modify or repeal the laws as the commission deems appropriate.

With regard to the last proposal, it should be noted that Chancellor Merkel and her party opposed the very legalization laws that have brought her and her country to today's point of world-wide condemnation. Thus, the Chancellor's failure to take bold action of the sort described above will, ironically, make her the victims of the evils of trafficking perpetrated by her political opponents. This would be a moral and political outcome that -- shrewd political leader, decent human being and woman that she is – the Chancellor must not and, I believe, will not permit to happen.

But whatever she does, our coalition is ready to make the current World Cup plans a crossroads moment – a battle we cannot afford to lose -- in our effort to end the current and potential future enslavement of millions of girls and women. As we see it, the lives of millions of those victims, and Germany's entitlement to the goodwill of other countries of the world, both hang in the balance and are in the Chancellor's hands.